2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

1932] *Ray, The Sanpoil and Nespelem* 135

784 against too literal acceptance of the declaration that menstruating women were
841 always isolated. Not only were there tabus but there were remedies in case the tabus were broken. A menstruating woman was not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She was forbidden to walk around the head of a bed. Yet in the menstrual hut there would have been no opportunity for such actions. Women were not allowed to take water from streams in which fish traps were located for fear a menstruating woman might be among their numbers.[8] A deer was not carried through the door of a hunting lodge since blood from a menstruating woman might have dropped in the doorway.[9] A weapon became useless if game killed with it were shared by a woman during menstruation (as mentioned above, a fast was supposed to be observed during this time); or if she stepped over or touched a weapon it was likewise affected. But there was a remedy. The weapon was rubbed thoroughly with the green leaves of the coyote mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (ap'kanu'sástən, "spear-rubbing plant"), whereupon it became as efficient as ever. Many other examples of the nature of these are to be found in connection with the activities which were affected.

Indeed, much of the ill that befell the people was attributed to the breaking of menstrual tabus.

MARRIAGE

COURTSHIP

534 Although girls were carefully watched during adolescence, and private meet-
832 ings between the sexes were frowned upon, there was nevertheless a considerable amount of true courtship. When clandestine meetings were arranged the flageolet
836 was used by the man for signalling his presence and later for amusing his sweetheart. A certain pre-arranged note was the signal. A flageolet was also played by one lonesome for companionship of the opposite sex.

534 The flageolet was made of bone or of a branch of the blue elderberry, *Sambucus*
832 *coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'k^{u}). The wooden flageolet was about fourteen inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The pith was removed, the ends left open and six holes provided. Buckskin bands were wrapped around the flageolet at each end of the slot, making the size of that opening adjustable. The flageolet, curiously, was not only carried as an instrument for making love but also as a protective weapon. It was of convenient size for use as a club.

533 Certain traditional songs, or tunes, were used in love making. Words were
832 supplied as suited the occasion. They were usually sung by the boy to the girl. Two typical songs of this nature follow:

a···yayawawintu···'
(meaningless?)

wai···kwinxaminaka···(etc., repeated)
I love you

---

[8] Cf. pages 70-71.
[9] See page 91.

573 A man expected implicit obedience from his wife. If it were not given he often resorted to physical violence, even to using a club. "It was his right. After she had been knocked down a few times she would no longer disobey." (Burke) All family affrays, however, were not the result of disobedience on the part of the wife. Some men were naturally pugnacious. They delighted in teasing and annoying their wives. This soon became habitual and wrangling characterized the relations between the husband and wife. But most quarrels, Burke said, were soon patched up. A man might be railing and a woman crying at one moment, and a moment later the two might be laughing over it all. Quarrels rarely led to permanent separations, but were often the cause of a man's going from one wife to another. Altercations were more common between newly married couples than older ones. "Older people had better sense," Burke commented.

ILLEGAL AND ABNORMAL SEX RELATIONS

684 In clear cases of adultery the [redacted] was usually punished by death at the hand of the injured husband. The relatives of the slain man made no attempt at retaliation. Such action was recognized as proper. The adultress might be beaten by her husband or relieved from punishment, as he willed. Her hair was never cut off for such a transgression. He might take back his wife, the usual course, or turn her out. There was no shame connected with keeping a wife who had been guilty of adultery, even though it were publicly known, as was ordinarily unavoidable.

599 684 736 The relations between unmarried persons and restrictions in that connection have already been discussed. But despite the care that was taken considerable promiscuousness existed. "Young men," Burke said, "spent a great deal of time prowling around at night in an attempt to find some girl." Kate Staples declared that it was common for a young man to make a practice of travelling from one village to another in his canoe, stopping at each one only long enough to consummate an affair with some girl, "until he got ready to settle down." The girl usually took part in arranging such an escapade. Upon a chance or casual meeting during the day the two planned the hour and place. It was ordinarily necessary for the girl to wait until all others in the house were asleep, then quietly to slip away. Such amours were usually consummated in a nearby secluded spot and the girl soon returned to her home for she did not dare stay away long for fear her absence would be discovered. Sometimes a boy entered a girl's house and slept with her with the avowed object of becoming married to her, but left before morning. When this happened the girl was very much ashamed and attempted to keep all others from knowing what had happened. Often she tried to persuade him to return another time and stay, so that they might be married. The boy only was punished when illicit relations between unmarried persons were detected. The punishment meted out was lashing. Young persons were not the only ones guilty of arranging unapproved intrigues but older persons did not have to exercise such extreme care and were less apt to be punished if caught unless one or both were married. In any case, the actions of adults were less hampered by the ever watchful eyes of others.

684 737

881 They ½ became acquainted with
883 the more specialized techniques, such as bas-
836 ketry, and were supposed to have no contacts with men except for fleeting ones at group affairs. Actually, however, many of the maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their elders, and a virgin bride was considered unusual and rather highly valued.

½ [i.e., post-adolescent girls.-- Analyst]

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

582 No marriage to a blood relative was al-
835 lowed. Theoretically this prohibition extended even to sixth cousins. A breach of tabu towards so distant a relative would be considered rather wrong by the older people, but would not have been very severely censured. Actually, many second cousins did marry. According to Johnnie, it was preferable to marry "a daughter of a man who had married one's grandmother's sister," or a relative similarly removed, than to marry an utter stranger. The marriage of close relatives was a disgrace, but our informants agreed that even in this case, after the lapse of some time, the offense was forgiven or at least forgotten, and the couple received once more into the community's good graces. It was believed that the children of tabu degree relatives would be deformed, stupid, or physically weak.

The idea of tabu included not only sexual relations, but also any sort of intimate trifling contact, such as tickling. This held not only between cousins, but also brothers and sisters.

684 Incest was exceedingly rare, according
835 to Cecile, who stated that it never occured between parent and child. On rare occasions a brother and sister, usually quite young, might have incestuous relations. In this event the parents would be so horrified that both children would be killed. This happens
[538] often in the myths, and always the parents are so ashamed that they put an end to the offenders, or at least to the boy. The girl, particularly if there was a child, was sometimes allowed to live. Such a pattern in the mythology generally means that the tabu was felt rather strongly.

582 The technical ban on marriage referred
835 to cousins of any degree. They were apparently grouped with the siblings, whose relationship terms they shared. "The older people considered the cousins as their children, and children should not marry." More distant collateral relatives, or those merely connected by marriage, were known as snaqsɪ'lūx. These were held to be most desirable as mates, and were preferred to total strangers, we were told. We found no check of this in the marriages.

Betrothal

582 It was preferred to marry within the
554 tribe, but marriages outside of it took
778 place. Rich and poor married quite freely, for there was always the notion that a man was poor only because he lacked power.

p. 112(B)

587 a joint household. Children always stayed with their mothers.

595 There were no mother-in-law or father-in-law tabus. If a man liked the wife of his son, he would treat her as he would his own daughter. "He would sit near her and tell her stories." Similarly a woman and her son-in-law were like mother and son. If the son-in-law or daughter-in-law was lazy, the mother-in-law (but never the father-in-law) might beat him, or her. Unless there was some untoward personality difficulty, young married people got on perfectly well with the parents of their spouses.

606

592 Each family in a mat lodge would have its own food supply and fire. Women might share a single fireplace, but unrelated families ordinarily ate by themselves. Food was served on tule mats spread directly on the floor."

264

561 Women never got power for housekeeping, for every woman was supposed to be proficient at such tasks.

778

NOTES ON SEX LIFE

581 Chastity in a girl was valued, so that larger gifts would be given for girls with the reputation for it, and they were more likely to have influential suitors. But it was by no means demanded (compare Suicide below). Chastity was more important than ability to work, but no man wanted to marry a lazy girl.

831

A general statement by Johnnie seems valid. A good girl is called c'Amamtô'laˣ. This is the sort that has no contact of even the mildest sort before marriage. She leaves the house only early in the morning and late at night. She would be told the virtues of chastity and hard work and would want to follow this advice. Her people make her resist advances from the first man who may come, waiting for a famous man who would surely come even from a great distance for such a girl. Such make very good wives. They always stay with their mothers, always within sight, and always obey their parents. Such girls are rare: one in a hundred. Nor were all the girls of a family always of this sort.

Another informant stated: Perhaps a Chelan chief would hear of such a girl and take his son with him to get her. Her father would depreciate her, saying, "She is lazy, no good, but I do not want to disappoint you." He would ask his daughter. She would reply, "It is up to you."

831

Theoretically girls were so hedged about and guarded that there would seem to have been no place for the loose character.

836

Again Johnnie's statement: The name for

IT See also Social Organization.

such a one was wI'ôwxina, literally (?) "she don't know when to stop," or "free to everybody." These girls never learned to be good. There were never many of them. They never worked but were supported by their own people, even though these did not like them. If a girl was always bad, going with many men, she would not have a chance to marry well. In fact, girls who had many illegitimate children would never marry. If a father found he could not halt her and tired of the disgrace, he marched her out to the woods and shot her with arrows, leaving her without burial. Not every boy would have dealings with such loose girls. The sons of "nice" people would be "nice." But every boy and girl had a certain amount of intercourse before marriage. 831 836 [684]

Illegitimate births occured, and the shame of them was lived down. A girl who had already had a baby married, and brought up the child with her later children. There was no way of forcing the man involved to marry the girl, as there was no use of a divination mechanism to determine his identity, and if accused he had only to deny the allegation. He might, however, have married the girl of his own volition. 848

However, at the time of the occurrence it was considered rather shameful, and was so felt by the girl involved. Therefore girls who became pregnant as a result of an illicit affair attempted to produce abortion by violent pressure, as by falling on their abdomens across a log. If this failed they were said sometimes to kill the child if the fact of the birth could be kept sufficiently secret. 847

There was also a magical contraceptive brought by a woman of an unidentified Puget Sound tribe. She would arrive in the Wenatchi country every summer in the days of Mary Carden's mother's girlhood. She instructed the women to eat the leaves of a bush that grew far up in the mountains. (The bush is two and a half feet tall; its dark green, shiny leaves are small and pointed, and in general shaped like those of a tobacco called sqwūlī's.) This plant was said to grow in two forms; one, which blossomed, was male, the non-blossoming variety female. Women who did not want to have children would eat these leaves after menstruation for a year. This assured permanent barrenness, but its effect, or barrenness from any other cause, might be counteracted by eating the leaves of the female or non-blossoming plant. The point of the leaf was opened with a sharpened twig; it was then blown full of air and swallowed. If the leaf could be blown up without bursting, the woman would conceive. For example, Mary's sister was married many years, but had no children. A year after taking this cure she had a child and later two more. Some women who were barren always burst the leaves when they were blown up. After Southern Okanagon women learned which bush was used, they would get the leaves themselves, asking the bush for help while picking them. In the days 842 824 842